



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Indian must be educated in the practices of good citizenship; be brought to understand the elementary problems of government in his parish, village, and municipality; later, given some comprehension of the mechanism of national government and to realize that his vote as citizen has a power which far surpasses that of the revolutionary musket and gun. Schools must be established everywhere, so that no child shall lack a place where he may learn all that which no citizen can afford to miss; all those imitations of alien ways which can in Mexico strike no abiding root must be put to one side. Many there are, however, who still believe that miracles can be performed by the use of artificial and exotic remedies.

The Mexican school was in the beginning the old-time school of Spain, and it produced great men and enormous masses of the ignorant. It then found inspiration in the English system only to produce the same results. Later still, France and things French had the place of honor, but Mexico continued to produce great men and enormous masses of the ignorant. Today the new magic wand hails from the United States in the form of American organization, American curriculums, and American text-books. But neither will these perform the miracle so ardently desired. Whether Spanish, French, Lancastrian, or Yankee is of no importance. What does matter is that there should be schools, and ever more schools; buildings which are palaces in the capital cities, where the children gaze wide-eyed on the beauties of gilded and vaulted ceiling, simple white-washed classrooms in the small towns, the small cabin in the remote village, the leafy verdure of the spreading trees at the tropical cross-roads; rich or poor, exalted or humble, but *schools*, many schools, and ever more schools; and teachers, a multitude of teachers, who, while imparting a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, will also implant a knowledge of the *patria* in which Mexicans live and which is their precious heritage; and that this be done at once, without delay; that no more weary years be spent in the meticulous consideration of plans and projects involving great organizations, for the matter is of immediate urgency; it brooks of no delay.

Nor should this work begin from above, but from the lowest foundation level. "If thou knowest aught, teach it," should be the motto for the spread of the new gospel, which, if obeyed, will bring to pass in Mexico a new Pentecost, when with tongues "as of fire" and as "of a mightily rushing wind" mouths shall be opened and lips unsealed to speak to all the disinherited a message of love, of equality, and of redemption.

If the Mexican Indian had not been essentially good and innocent, he had not been so easily the victim of the white during the long centuries. But already the latter begins to realize that the day is past when he can dream of being the lord of Indian life, property, and honor; he begins now to perceive the need of co-operation if he would not precipitate a catastrophe in which he would be the first to perish. . . . Let the European white bring an open mind to those currents which set futureward, and a spirit ready to respond to all those unquiet influences which make up the great propulsive force of the world today. Let the Indian bring his steady constancy, that tireless dog-trot of the errant pilgrim which covers leagues and leagues without stop or rest; that gaze

earthward-bent which reminds that we are dust, and that spirit fixed on high to remember that resignation is virtue, but self-contempt a crime, and that there is One above who neither slumbers nor sleeps. Let the mestizo combine in his spirit the best qualities of the two races, softening the abrupt contrasts, and, brother to both, work out in his own being the destiny appointed by the just God of nations. And in this fusion will be accomplished the miracle which still remains to be wrought.

Meanwhile, in spite of the imperfect fusion of races, the sharp distinction of classes which has existed, and the lack of proportion between the different social strata in culture and the essentials of daily living, Mexico has achieved during her century of independence amazing results. The treacherous sands of open roadsteads have been converted into harbors where the ships of many nations ride safely at anchor; the force of flood and cascade has been harnessed to the wheels of peaceful labor; a network of steel rails is slowly but surely binding the uttermost parts of the nation together; pest-holes, spreading disease and death broadcast, have become model towns, to be imitated by other nations; epidemics have been combated with an energy and such success as to evoke the commendation of the sanitary authorities of the United States, who pride themselves on being the foremost in the world; the great and almost sacred metropolis, the center of the national government and affection, has been drained by a system of great tunnels; palaces have been constructed hardly less imposing than the ancient pyramids. And in the century of independence now being celebrated Mexico has known how to repel the invader and, in the struggle with the foreign host, to overcome or, under the stress of superior force, to fall with honor on the field of battle.

Mexico, moreover, has known how to raise, in sanguinary revolution, the banner of redeeming principles, to weld the national spirit in the cleansing fire of national disaster, under the crushing blows of misery, suffering, and austere privation, and in the fullness of time to lay aside the warrior's insignia and take up the work of administration. And, finally, after half a century of cruel struggle, she was able to give herself thirty years of peace, during which her national credit exceeded, or at least equaled, that of the most highly considered nations of the world, and when her name was always pronounced with respect. . . .

Pilgrim Mexico! As ever, thy pilgrim soul moves on over the rough precipitous road. May God guide thee and bring thee at last to the end of thy long, long journey, to take thine appointed place in the great concert of nations! May the eagle at last devour the serpent!

LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEXICAN OIL SITUATION

Oil has become a tremendous force in the international affairs of the important nations, and in the relations between the United States and Mexico oil is at the bottom of most of the difficulties that have perplexed the statesmen of the two countries. In the October 31 issue of *Commerce Reports*, published by the Department of Commerce, appears an article on the petroleum industry in Mexico, prepared by

Roy H. Flamm, of the Latin-American Division. This article, coming from official sources, casts definite light on some of the questions that have greatly troubled persons interested in amity and good will between the United States and Mexico.

A part of the article follows:

The oil industry in Mexico has continued to expand, notwithstanding the application in recent years of new legislation which has been confiscatory. A brief history of the Mexican mining laws and rulings concerning petroleum exploitation is herewith given:

The mining laws of November 22, 1884, June 4, 1892, and November 25, 1909, were based upon the constitution of 1857, and recognized the principle that the exclusive ownership of the petroleum deposits was vested in the owner of the land. These laws also provided for the acquisition of petroleum rights by foreign companies. It was in conformity with these laws that American capital purchased and leased petroleum lands in Mexico, expending more than \$200,000,000 in lands, leases, pipe lines, camps, pumping stations, tank ships, wharves, etc. On February 5, 1917, a new constitution was promulgated which made a radical change in the petroleum laws of Mexico. A reliable translation of pertinent excerpts from articles 27 and 33 follows:

"Article 27.—The ownership of lands and waters within the limits of the national territory is vested originally in the nation, which has had and has the right to transmit titles thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property.

"Private property shall not be expropriated, except for cause of public utility and by means of indemnification.

"The nation shall have at all times the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the development of natural resources, which are susceptible of appropriation, in order to conserve them and equitably to distribute the public wealth. In the nation is vested direct ownership of all minerals, petroleum, and hydrocarbons—solid, liquid, or gaseous.

"Legal capacity to acquire ownership of lands and waters of the nation shall be governed by the following provisions:

"Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization, and Mexican companies, have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired. Within a zone of 100 kilometers (62.14 miles) from the frontiers and of 50 kilometers (31.07 miles) from the seacoast, no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters.

"Article 33.—Foreigners are those who do not possess the qualifications prescribed by article 30 (citizenship by birth or naturalization). They shall be entitled to the rights granted by chapter 1, title 1, of the present constitution; but the executive shall have the exclusive right to expel from the Republic forthwith and without judicial process any foreigner whose presence he may deem inexpedient."

The Attorney General of Mexico has given the following opinion as to this article:

"1. All landed property, whether of national or private ownership, urban or rural, comprised within the confines of the Republic shall be considered as covered by the term 'lands and waters of the nation.'

"2. Only Mexican individuals and Mexican associations have the right to acquire lands, waters, and their appurtenances in the Republic.

"3. Alien individuals may acquire such property, either directly from the nation or from individuals—Mexican or alien—on complying with the conditions prescribed in section 1 of the seventh paragraph of article 27, when author-

ized by the State. Hence, even though compliance be had as hereinbefore provided, the State may deny aliens this right under the discretionary power vested in it by this provision.

"4. Alien corporations shall in no event acquire such property."

As probably indicating the intentions of the government toward enforcing the nationalizing provisions of article 27 of the constitution, notices have been sent to revenue collectors and registrars in the State of Vera Cruz instructing them not to receive for registration deeds wherein the owner of the land agrees to sell or lease to companies or individuals for the exploitation of subsoil products. The circular which was sent out by the government states that the Mexican Government alone can legalize such transfers, "being of its direct domain all oils and minerals in the subsoil of the Republic."

Governmental Decrees and Projected Law

The Executive sent to the Mexican Congress in December, 1918, a bill embodying a petroleum code, intended to put into effect the nationalizing provisions of article 27 of the new constitution. To date, the Congress has not passed this or any such measure. On February 19, 1918, the President of Mexico, under authority of a congressional resolution conferring upon him extraordinary powers in the Department of Finance, issued the first of a series of decrees to enforce article 27. The decree provided for the payment of rentals and royalty to the nation by the owners of petroleum lands, the registering of petroleum lands under penalty of confiscation, and the opening of lands not registered to the filing of claims by third parties. Against this decree the United States, Great Britain, Netherlands, and France made diplomatic protest. The taxes levied by this decree were referred to as "rentals" and "royalties"; which terms by their very meaning must have conceded the national ownership mentioned in the new constitution, if the decree had been acknowledged by the property owners. On July 8, 1918, a decree was issued, which, with the amendments of August 9, 1918, provided the means of terminating the present titles to oil lands under certain conditions and the issuance by the government of licenses to drill on the lands, the title of which had been terminated. On July 31, 1918, the decree of February 19 was reissued in a slightly different form, the date of August 15, 1918, being set as the time limit for filing a statement of title.

In an attempt to enforce the provisions of these governmental decrees and the payment of the taxes exacted by them, others were issued later which suspended the drilling of new wells. In the meantime the companies had sought relief in the federal courts of Mexico, where the cases were decided against them. The cases are now being decided by the Supreme Court of Mexico on amparo proceedings instituted by the principal companies engaged in the petroleum industry. Pending action by the Mexican Congress, the principal oil companies on January 4, 1920, petitioned the President of Mexico for the issuance of provisional permits to drill new wells and to complete those already begun, it being understood that the granting of such permits would in no manner affect the contentions of either the oil companies or of the government on the questions then in controversy.

Provisional Permits for Drilling

A presidential order dated January 17, 1920, provided for provisional permits to drill on the following basis: First, permits to be valid only until Congress enacts an organic law to carry out the provisions of article 27 of the Mexican Constitution; second, permits may include wells begun since May 1, 1917, whether finished or not; third, with the grant of a permit the Mexican Government abandons no right or judicial principle which it desires to sustain and companies acquire no new rights; fourth, if companies do not comply with the organic law when enacted, their benefits under permits will cease; fifth, permits will not affect questions now before the courts concerning the application of article 27

of the constitution, and of executive decrees and orders relating to petroleum, nor will they affect the discussion of pending petroleum legislation.

During the first three months after this decree was issued about 400 applications for drilling were presented to the Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labor.

Protecting Provisions of New Constitution

Article 14 of the new constitution states: "No law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." It is the contention of the Mexican Government that this constitutional provision will fully protect the companies already interested in the petroleum industry in Mexico. However, it is difficult to harmonize the confiscatory effects of the various decrees issued to carry out the provisions of article 27 of the new constitution with the protection guaranteed by article 14. It is to be hoped that any new petroleum legislation based on the constitution of 1917 will include an endeavor to bring the provisions of articles 14 and 27 into harmony, to the end that oil properties legally acquired by foreign interests under the constitution of 1857 and the laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 will receive the protection and guarantees afforded them by article 14 of the constitution of 1917. The following excerpts from the laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 make very plain the legal recognition given the owners of petroleum properties.

Article 10 of the law of November 22, 1884, states that "the following substances are the exclusive property of the owner of the land, who may, therefore, develop and enjoy them without the formality of claim or special adjudication: . . . Petroleum and gaseous springs, etc."

The law of June 4, 1892, states that "the owner of land may freely work without a special franchise in any case whatsoever the following substances: Mineral fuels, oils, mineral water, etc."

The law of November 25, 1909, states in article 2 that "the following are the property of the owner of the soil: Ore bodies or deposits of mineral fuels of whatever form or variety, etc."

Basis of American Oil Exploitation

No American companies are developing oil in Mexico on any but privately owned property, legally acquired under the laws of Mexico, and no American company, with two minor exceptions, possesses any rights to drill on any lands conceded by any Government of Mexico. The American companies have in practically all cases made their contracts of lease or purchase with private owners of the land. A leading American oil expert states that there are probably between 50 and 100 American companies which have holdings of supposed oil lands in Mexico, acquired either by lease or purchase from the original owners. The amount of land so held is not less than 3,000,000 acres and possibly double that amount. A conservative estimate is that 10 per cent of these lands contain oil.

Supreme Court Interpretation of Article 27

More than 150 cases of amparo were filed by the oil companies during 1918 and 1919. An amparo in the Mexican law corresponds in our laws to a request for an injunction on constitutional grounds. The amparo proceedings brought in 1918 were instituted against the decrees of Carranza, which made the nationalizing provisions of article 27 of the constitution retroactive and confiscatory of properties owned before the constitution of 1917 was adopted. The amparos filed in 1919 were directed against a specific decree of Carranza, which provided that the lands of those companies which refused to file manifests practically acknowledging a transfer of their properties to the government would be subject to denouncement or filing and seizure by such other parties as might be authorized by the government.

On September 26, 1921, the Supreme Court of Mexico officially handed down a decision on the proceedings in amparo brought by the Texas Company in 1919. The decision, signed by the entire court, reads in part as follows:

"Paragraph 4 of article 27 cannot be regarded as retroactive, either in its text or its spirit. It does not attack

acquired rights. No attack upon those rights is made in the text of the article, because it does not contain an express mandate regarding its retroactivity, nor can any such implication be read into it. No attack is made in the spirit of the article, because it acts in the same spirit manifested in other articles of the constitution, which, as a whole, recognizes the old principles upon which are based the rights of man, granting ample guaranties.

"Considering article 27 non-retroactive, we find it is in harmony with the principles set forth in the paragraphs immediately preceding it. These deal with private property. We also find it in harmony with the sections relating to petroleum, which follow it. From all this it is understood that, according to universally applied rules which have been accepted for the interpretation of laws, paragraph 4 of article 27 is not retroactive, in that it does not impair rights previously and legitimately acquired."

The Chief Justice in rendering the decision says:

"Today's decision is as specific and far reaching in matters relating to oil as a judicial tribunal can render, and should establish the principle of law upon which the other amparo cases pending should be adjudicated."

It is believed that this decision in the Texas Company case establishes a judicial acknowledgment that petroleum lands acquired prior to May 1, 1917, for purposes of mineral development, on which denunciations were made subsequent to such date and in accordance with the Carranza decrees, are held to be not subject to such denouncement and not subject to any of the regulative decrees concerning denouncement. An obiter-dicta decision issued at the same time states that the lands above referred to are subject to the decrees relating to taxation, and that the President, in the use of his extraordinary powers and by proper decrees issued, may effect the taxing basis of the properties in question. The Supreme Court, however, did not find that President Carranza exceeded his powers when he issued the decree resulting in the denunciation of properties of the Texas Company under the provisions of article 27.

Any decision or group of decisions by the Mexican Supreme Court hardly settles definitely the non-retroactivity of article 27. The Mexican law is based on the Roman law, which does not operate by precedents; so that future cases might be decided adversely to claimants for reasons not now apparent. While it cannot be stated that this decision effects a substantial or satisfactory adjustment of the petroleum question in Mexico, it may do much to allay the fear of confiscation of private property legally acquired prior to May 1, 1917, for purposes of petroleum development, and to encourage the development of such properties.

Regulations Governing Oil Exploitation in Waterways

The President of Mexico issued a set of regulations on March 12, 1920, concerning the granting of privileges for drilling oil wells in rivers, creeks, swamps, etc., under Federal jurisdiction. Concessions for such exploitation will be granted only to Mexicans by birth or naturalization, or to companies duly organized in accordance with Mexican laws. Preference will be given to owners or exploiters of contiguous lands, but petition for concessions must pass through the formal procedure required for denunciations of petroleum lands, and at least one oil well must be completed within the first year of the concession.

Concessionaires must pay an annual rental of 100 pesos (1 peso = \$0.4985 at normal exchange) per kilometer or fraction thereof, besides 5 per cent of the first cubic meters of oil produced daily, 10 per cent of the production from 1,000 to 2,000 cubic meters, 15 per cent from 2,000 to 5,000 cubic meters, and 20 per cent in excess of 5,000 cubic meters. Payments will be based on the average daily production of each month and will be made in cash or in kind, according to the request of the government. Government inspectors will ascertain the producing capacity of the wells, and if concessionaires do not extract as much as 50 per cent of the capacity the government will have the right to extract its share of the production. Concessionaires must guarantee

fulfillment of their obligations by the deposit of 1,000 pesos for each kilometer or fraction greater than 500 meters of the Federal zone covered by the concession, the deposits being returned as soon as the first producing well is brought in. In case of failure of a concessionaire to fulfill his obligations, any oil wells drilled or producing will be forfeited to the government.

On April 21, 1920, the Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labor issued supplementary regulations on the exploitation of petroleum. Concessions for rivers or creeks shall carry the right to exploit the zone located on one side of the river or creek, together with the corresponding half of the bed thereof. These regulations include detailed requirements for the obtaining of concessions and the exploitation of the oil deposits.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON DISARMAMENT

Prepared in the Library of the Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace

[Revising and Supplementing List Published in ADVOCATE
OF PEACE May, 1921, and Mimeographed List of
June 13, 1921]

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- Allied and associated powers (1914—). Convention for the control of the trade in arms and ammunition and protocol, signed at Saint Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919. N. Y., American association for international conciliation. 1921. 29 p. (International conciliation, July, 1921, no. 164.) Also in Gt. Brit. Treaty series, 1919, no. 12, Cmd., 414.
- American academy of political and social science, *Philadelphia*. The possibility of disarmament by international agreement. (*In its Annals*, July, 1921, v. 96: 45-67.) Contents: The urge for disarmament, by T. J. Walsh. The possibility of disarmament by international agreement, by R. L. Bullard. Limitation of armaments by international agreement, by F. W. Mondell. Curtailment of armaments, by F. C. Hicks. Reduction of armaments, by J. J. Rogers.
- American dyes institute. World disarmament and the master-key industry. N. Y. (130 W. 42d St.). 1921. 52 p.
- Bogart, E. L. Direct and indirect costs of the great world war. 2d (rev.) ed. N. Y., Oxford, 1919. 338 p. (Carnegie endowment for international peace. Division of economics and history. Preliminary economic studies of the war, no. 24.)
- Borah, William E. Naval armament. Speech . . . in the Senate . . . March 1, 1921. (*In Congressional record*, 66th Cong., 3d sess., v. 60: 4158-4170.)
- . Naval building program. Speech in the Senate, Feb. 11, 1921. (*In Congressional record*, 66th Cong., 3d sess., v. 60: 2982-2994.)
- . Suspension of naval building program. Speech in the Senate, Jan. 27, 1921. (*In Congressional record*, 66th Cong., 3d sess., v. 60: 2112-2115.)
- Brown, Mrs. Harriet C. America menaced by militarism. An appeal to women. Washington, Searchlight pub. co., 1921. 31 p.
- Bullard, Arthur. The A B C's of disarmament and the Pacific problems. N. Y., Macmillan, 1921. 122 p.
- Conference on the limitation of armament. Address of the President of the United States . . . address of Charles E. Hughes . . . also the proposal of the U. S. for a limitation of naval armament. Wash., G. P. O., 1921. 27 p. (67th Cong., 1st sess. Senate Doc. no. 77.)
- . *American delegation*. Proposal of the United States for a limitation of naval armament . . . Nov. 12, 1921. Wash., G. P. O., 1921. 10 p.
- Daehne van Varick, August von. Documents respecting the limitation of armaments laid before the first Hague peace conference of 1899 by the government of the Netherlands. Washington, 1916. 32 p. (Carnegie endowment for international peace. Division of international law. Pamphlet no. 22.)
- Davies, David. Disarmament. (*In Grotius society, Problems of peace and war*, v. 5, 1919, p. 109-118.)
- Davis, E. B. Disarmament: the economic basis of a reconstructed world. Academy of political science, N. Y., Proceedings, July, 1921, v. 9: 503-509.
- Disarm or perish. The judgment of soldiers; starving the world; the wreck of civilization; congressional opinion; a world service. Washington, American union against militarism, 1920. 8 p.
- Disarmament education committee, *Washington*. "Facts on disarmament," exhibit of 20 cards. Washington [1921]. 20 cards.
- Federal council of the churches of Christ in America. *Commission on international justice and good-will*. The church and a warless world: the next step—reduction of armaments. N. Y., 1921. 16 p.
- Foster, John W. Limitation of armaments on the Great Lakes. Washington, 1914. 57 p. (Carnegie endowment for international peace. Division of international law. Pamphlet no. 2.)
- Garvin, James Louis. The future of armaments, and their replacement by the preventive and creative use of economic power. (*In his Economic foundations of peace*. London, 1919, p. 457-487.)
- Green, Thomas E. The forces that failed and the burden of the nations . . . Washington, American peace society, 1914. 42 p.
- Hughes, Charles E. Address of Charles E. Hughes . . . on assuming the duties of presiding officer at the Conference . . . Nov. 12, 1921. Washington, 1921. 11 p. Found also in *Advocate of peace*, Nov., 1921, v. 83: 374-377.
- Inter-parliamentary union. *Commission for the limitation of naval and military expenditure*. Limitation of naval and military expenditure, a report drawn up in the name of the commission entrusted with the discussion of this problem at the conference of the union in Rome in the month of October, 1911, by M. d'Estournelles de Constant. Brussels, Misch and Thron, 1912. 40 p. At head of title: Interparliamentary union.
- Irwin, Will. "The next war," an appeal to common sense. N. Y., Dutton, c1921. 14 p.
- Lane, Ralph N. A. The great illusion; a study of the relation of military power in nations to their economic and social advantage. 3d rev. and enl. ed. N. Y., Putnam, 1911. 407 p.
- League of nations. Armaments; report of Committee no. 6 to the Assembly. Geneva, 1920. 10 p. (Assembly document 199.)
- . Reduction of national expenditure on armaments. Replies from governments to the letter of the Secretary-general of March 8th, 1921. 13 p. (Communiqué au Conseil et aux membres de la Société. A. 13. 1921.)
- . *Assembly*. 2d Geneva, 1921. Reduction of armaments. Report by the 3d committee. Rapporteur: Lord Robert Cecil . . . 8 p. (Communiqué au Conseil, aux membres de la Société et aux délégués à l'Assemblée. A. 158.)
- . *Council*. Resolutions of the Assembly with regard to armaments. Report by M. Léon Bourgeois . . . adopted by the Council on Feb. 25, 1921. (*In League of nations. Council. Minutes of the 12th session of the Council*, Paris, Feb. 21-March 4, 1921, p. 103-108.)
- . *Temporary mixed commission on armaments*. Report. 1921. 16 p. (Communiqué au Conseil, aux membres de la Société et aux délégués à l'Assemblée. A. 81 (C. 321).)
- League of nations union, *London*. Final report of the committee on limitation of armaments. London, 1921. 15 p.
- Levy, Samuel L. The burdens of preparedness and war. N. Y., Academy of political science, 1920, p. 273-295. Reprinted from *Political science quarterly*, v. 35, no. 2, June, 1920.
- Mahan, Alfred T. Armaments and arbitration; or The place of force in the international relations of states. N. Y., Harper, 1912. 259 p.